PEACE NEWS

No. 1,176 London, Jan. 9, 1959. 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

CYPRUS : PACIFIST LEADERS VISIT COLONIAL OFFICE

A GROUP of leading British pacifists went to the Colonial Office last week with a call for the ending of violence in Cyprus.

The delegation, which went at the request of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee, consisted of Robert Davis, Chairman of the Friends' Peace Committee (Quakers); Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union; Sybil Morrison, National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union; Max Parker, General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; J. Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of Peace News; Eric Tucker, Secretary of the Friends' Peace Committee; and Myrtle Solomon, Secretary of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

The members were introduced to Lord Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, by C. Leslie Hale, Labour MP for West Oldham, and a member of the Peace News' Board.

Stuart Morris writes:

On behalf of the delegation it was explained that their increased concern at the growth of violence in Cyprus and especially the arming of civilians by the British authorities had led them to ask for an interview with the Colonial Secretary.

Although the situation had in the meantime eased, members of the deputation still desired to ask for certain information and press their point of view as pacifists.

Cypriot resistance

They deplored the use of violence from whatever source it came, and would be seeking to put that point of view also to the representatives in London of the Greek Ethnarchy and of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. But they regarded the use of violence by the Cypriots as a reaction to the imposition of what was to them an alien government.

In the view of the deputation, such violent resistance if employed in another country against an occupying power other than British would not be characterised as murder or terrorism, and they deprecated the use of such terms. Nevertheless, although they believed that the Cypriots had a moral right to resist, they held strongly that such resistance should be of a non-violent character.

Equally they deplored violence used by the British and asked whether the violence used by some of the troops after recent incidents in Famagusta represented a challenge by the military to the political authorities who had seemed anxious to keep violence down to a minimum.

The delegation took grave exception to the arming of civilians and to the use of young National Servicemen for duties in Cyprus.

Lord Perth expressed surprise that the delegation did not distinguish between violence as used by the Greek Cypriots and action taken by the British. He agreed that there was no solution of the problem in violence, and he justified British action in terms of law and order and self-defence.

He assured the delegation that there had been no attempt on the part of the military

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EDITOR JAILED

But Peace News carries on

AS Peace News went to press on Wednesday the Editor and one of his assistants, Christopher Farley, were to be committed to a fortnight's imprisonment along with other demonstrators at the North Pickenham Missile Base.

The production of the paper will of course continue unhindered during their absence.

Michael Randle has asked to be relieved of his duties in the publishing department and left Peace News last week to take up full-time work with the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

All three express their warm appreciation for the many messages of sympathy and support received from readers and to the many friends who have offered help at this time.

NON-VIOLENT COERCION

Kathleen Lonsdale's view

Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, the Quaker scientist and author of "Is Peace Possible," wrote in a letter to the Editor of The Friend last week:

MAY I say that I have nothing but admiration for those who non-violently place their own bodies between workmen and the evil work that they are doing? If this is coercion, so it is when prostitutes are warned off street corners and burglars removed from the premises they have entered.

We do interfere in other men's lives, and the fact that we employ a policeman to do it for us makes us no less responsible. The majority of British people have not agreed to the building of these rocket sites, for they have not been asked. But if the majority of British people did agree to the building of extermination camps for Jews or West Indians or unwanted old people, and our Parliamentary and other polite protests had no effect, we should, I hope, try to stop them by our own suffering, non-violent, efforts.

Should our heroic young friends (and some older ones) not then try to stop the building of these fearful engines of mass extermination, since our own feeble protests have had no effect?

The following cable from Montreal, was received last week from Vera Brittain, Chairman of Peace News:

"Please convey my New Year greetings and congratulations to Norfolk Demonstrators."

Swaffham and employment

BOMBS AND JOBS

AN EDITORIAL

BETWEEN November 1956 and November 1958, the number of unemployed people in Norfolk increased from 2,984 to 5,462. The total population of Norfolk is about half a million so that about one person in a hundred is unemployed in the county. If we count only the employable population, the figure must be much higher. Everybody in Norfolk almost certainly knows of somebody who is unemployed.

It is not surprising that the people of Norfolk have welcomed the building of the rocket bases in their county. Why shouldn't they? We have all been told ad nauseam **since 1945 (and for many years before that) that we must have a strong Britain to defend our interests. Don't the rocket bases do just that?**

Since it has not been thought proper to explain to the people of this country that being strong and the national interest have rather different meanings now that we possess nuclear weapons, the people of Norfolk go happily to work on the bases that give them for once the chance of earning a decent wage.

the arms budget

This is the context in which we must consider the Government's decision, announced last week, to spend 200 million pounds on new bombers. Reporting this decision, the News Chronicle said:

"Now that Vickers have been 'taken care of' with a major share in the '339,' Shorts—badly hit by unemployment in Belfast—are likely to get the order for a long-range freighter."

Now two large firms and many thousands of workers have an increased interest in the continuation of the arms budget. And these people are aware of the mounting unemployment at present and many of them the mass unemployment of the thirties.

What do people who want to abolish nuclear weapons (or all weapons for that matter) reply to a man who says that by voting for a Government that will slash the arms expenditure he is voting himself out of a job? The easy answer is of course to say that alternative employment will be developed in the area. But this is only a part answer. We need also to convince people whose jobs will be affected by cuts put into practice.

In the main the supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are not people whose jobs will be affected by cuts in the arms bill. People are therefore sceptical about how much campaigners are concerned about new jobs for them.

a deep concern

The Swaffham demonstrators have given a partial answer to this problem. By being prepared to go to prison and risk losing *their* jobs, the demonstrators have shown that they *have* a deep concern for other people—a concern that they are ready to put into practice *now*. They are therefore in a position to ask the workers on the rocket base to make the same kind of sacrifice.

But it is only a partial answer. To leave their employment is a much greater sacrifice for some people than it is for others. We need to make their path as easy as possible. Anybody who aims to get people to leave their jobs or to vote for the abolition of their jobs needs to have a plan for the development of alternative employment.

new industries?

A great many of the campaigners would see this as a reason for making sure that a Labour Government is put in power at the next election, since a Labour Government would develop new industries in the depressed areas.

We are not so sure. We feel that since the Labour party is firmly committed to nuclear weapons and since it is very sensitive about unemployment, it will be happy to use the arms budget to create employment.

The arms budget is a very useful instrument for doing this. Since the cost of a rocket base or a bomber is astronomical and since the money is found by the Government, the usual economic objections to developing industries in places like Norfolk do not apply. Nobody notices costs like increased transport charges or the money required for getting workers from, say, Norwich to North Pickenham when the total cost is somewhere in the millions.

If the Labour Party is not the answer, what is? We have no ready answer, but we suggest that the development of a workers' co-operative of some kind in Norfolk is something that could well be explored. This would not solve the problem, but as an earnest of serious intentions its effects might well be revolutionary.

They remembered Reg Reynolds

THE Small Meeting House at Friends House, Euston, was crowded on Thursday last week for a Memorial Meeting to Reginald Reynolds, who died while visiting Quakers in Australia. Meeting together were friends and associates in Reginald Reynolds' various fields of work: pacifists, race relations workers, journalists, as well as former scholars from Saffron Walden School.

Ethel Mannin spoke movingly of her husband: of the gaiety he brought to all who met with him, of Reginald, the man, who liked his pipe, his glass, and talking with his friends.

Among those present were Leslie Hale, MP, Fenner Brockway, MP, a representative of the High Commissioner for India, and members of Peace News staff.

Prisoners' thanks

APRIL CARTER, Secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, has asked Peace News to make known the gratitude and thanks of all those who were imprisoned at Christmas for expressions of support sent by greeting card, letter, telegram and cable.

"Together with the gifts sent to the prisons, these were a tremendous source of encouragement to us all. We can't hope to reply to everyone, but we do want them to know how much their action was appreciated."

NEW TRAVELLERS ON THE GREAT SILK ROAD

By Ralph Parker

A British journalist resident in Moscow.

ABOUT three hours after taking off from Moscow's Vnukovo airport our TU-104 crossed the Great Silk Road, the road along which for centuries the material and spiritual values of the cultures of the peoples of Asia and Africa were exchanged, the road which still remains as an idea in the minds of the people of Central Asia.

Many speakers at the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Tashkent referred to the Great Silk Road. The image is a vivid one and it suited the work of the conference aptly, for the aim of that gathering of some 150 writers representing lands as far apart as Ghana and the Philippines was to re-establish the flow of ideas and cultural values between lands that had been isolated for centuries, and not only between themselves but between the continents of Asia and Africa and the West—a West which, one must remember, includes European Russia.

Common platform

The idea of holding this conference in the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan arose in Delhi two years ago. It was there that the Uzbek poetess Zalfia, speaking in the name of the Soviet Asian writers who attended the Asian Writers' Conference, extended an invitation that included African writers too. The Delhi conference, the first of its kind, proved to be a useful stimulus for a rapprochement between writers and literary organisations in the spirit of the principles of peaceful co-existence asserted at Bandung.

To define the idea that lay behind the Tashkent conference would require an analysis of the ideological principles that move China's Big Leap Forward, India's gradual advance towards a "socialistic pattern," Arab nationalism, the national aspirations of the peoples of Ghana, the Cameroons, Indonesia, the Philippines and of many others. Could the organisers of the conference hope to find a common platform on which the delegates could work together?

That was the question that some of us "Western" observers had in our minds as we entered the magnificent Navoi theatre for the opening of the five-day conference. It was a question that some delegations had asked themselves on their way to Tashkent. Both the Indian (the largest) and the Japanese delegations were composed of men and women of widely differing political affiliations, and of some who had no affiliations at all.

Minimum tolerance?

The Indian delegation was selected on the principle of representation of each of the fifteen main languages of the sub-continent. The representatives of Ghana included men and women who stand close to Nkrumah. Many of the writers from colonial Africa were political militants who believe that it is the duty of the writer to enlist in the armed struggle for independence. Could one hope for that minimum of tolerance without which the conference could turn out to be nothing but a demonstration of disunity?

And at the back of the minds of some of us lay another question. Would the writers attending the conference be called on to sink their differences in the adoption of an anti-Western attitude but turning the tables on a West which had so often adopted a superior and exclusive attitude towards the cultures of the brown, the yellow, and the black-skinned?

Let me say right away that the conference avoided any kind of Asian or African chauvinism. Indeed, it showed a maturity in this respect which left this observer feeling humble and chastened. One was continually being impressed by the dignity of the speakers.

Once it was Chou Yang, the Chinese critic, telling us that the Chinese people had always respected the cultural achievements of other nations and had absorbed much of the best of other cultures—including those of the West—and going on to declare that the new situation in China made it possible and necessary for the Chinese people to establish normal cultural relations with Western peoples and have a genuine cultural exchange with them. Or it was an Indian writer saying: "We, authors of Asia and Africa, do not consider that Western culture has nothing to offer us except war and exploitation. Or it was the poet of the mountainous Soviet republic of Daghestan who said: "We must not confuse colonialism with culture and Dreiser with Dulles. . . A beautiful carpet must not be burned because of dirty marks on it."

Drawn together

How then did this conference manage to get that measure of agreement which enabled it to vote into existence a permanent organisation, located in Ceylon, to assist Asian and African writers to make their works better known to each other in translation, and, through various publications, to bring them to the knowledge of the West? And to agree to a further conference in in Cairo, in two years' time?

I venture to suggest that there were two main factors contributing to this unity. The first is the conviction, common to most Asian and African lands, that the peoples who, in one way or another, have achieved or are achieving their independence are being swept forward together on a wave of social and economic revolution that is enveloping all Asia and Africa. Despite all their mental reservations and their different experience of life, the intellectuals of the two continents are being drawn together by a process of cultural integration.

Only thus, it seemed to me at Tashkent, was it possible for men as different as the Indian philologist, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the exiled Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet, the Chinese novelist Mao Tun, and the Singalese Buddhist philosopher D. K. P. Beneragama, to work together loyally at this conference.

Peace and independence

Not all these men and their fellow delegates could be called "progressive" in the narrow "Western" sense of the word. But that over-worked adjective is in fact equally applicable to the young Ghanese novelist Cecile McHardy, secretary of the Writers' Union of Ghana, as it is to Shri Lakmi Prasard Devketa of Nepal, or to Pam Huy Theng of Vietnam, for to all of them the cause of the advancement of letters in their lands is a progressive one.

Here at Tashkent the vexed problem of equating the cause of peace with that of the struggle for national independence, which in the past has disturbed the harmony of many a "Peace Congress," never arose at all. For Asians and Africans are convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the establishment of sovereign national States in the place of colonies is an essential stage in the establishment of a lasting peace. That the new independent nations should engender conflicts between themselves is simply not accepted as a possibility.

The other factor that contributed to the unity of the Tashkent conference was something that derived from the environment. I do not wish to suggest that the delegates accepted Soviet ways as ideal or that during their week in Tashkent they were converted to the doctrine of socialist realism or of the total commitment of the writer to a political cause. But in the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan and later in the neighbouring republics of Soviet Central Asia and Transcaucasia they were provided with an example of what they as writers can expect to find in their own lands when the scourge of illiteracy has been removed.

Classics for Tartars

In order to reach the theatre where the conference was held most delegates had to cross Tashkent's main square, a rather beautiful public garden dominated by a fountain in the form of a cotton boll. All around this square bookstalls were erected, at which a brisk trade went on from dawn till dusk.

One saw long queues of Tartars waiting to subscribe to new editions of their classics, students of German from the Tashkent Institute of Foreign Languages carrying away bundles of collected Heine and Goethe imported from Leipzig, purchasers of a new anthology of Indian poetry translated into Uzbek crowding around the authors and demanding autographs. . . In short, Tashkent provided a spectacle of a people that has become literate in the span of one of two generation eagerly and earnestly extending their cultural horizons.

What effect this had on writers from lands that are wrestling with the problem of mass education and the status of the author in society can easily be imagined.

"My father was a nomad of the steppe," the Kazakh writer Mukhtar Auezov told me one morning as we crossed this book mart.

"It was in his tent that at the age of six I discovered that the poems our people sang or declaimed could lie silent on paper. In those days the verse of our great poet Abai were written down for the first time. Today the whole of the Soviet Union knows his works through books in translation. I wonder how much fine poetry and prose still exists only in oral form among the peoples of Asia and Africa represented at this conference."

To sum up, perhaps the greatest value of the Tashkent conference was the step it took towards what Ghana's poetess Efua Theodora Sutherland called the "unification of the disrupted soul of mankind."

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ISLAND ROCKET REVOLT

Frank Allaun, MP reviews

The film: **"Rockets Galore."**

WHEN the Government decided to turn a peaceful island off North-West Scotland into a nuclear rocket base it did not bargain for resistance by the islanders.

They weren't to be bribed or bamboozled by promises of prosperity. To them atomic missiles were the embodiment of evil. Nor would they tolerate eviction from their cottages.

Revolt breaks out. The whole population rallies to frustrate the construction work. And when a rocket from another Scottish base gets out of control and lands on their own isle, instead of safeguarding the scientific instruments in the misguided missile, as instructed, they set fire to them.

"What a pity no one will learn about this," says one of the rebels as he watches the blaze. He is mistaken. For TV and the Press blazon their revolt to the nation. (In the same way the non-violent resistance of a handful of rebels at a Norfolk rocket base has been brought before the whole people.)

All this makes "Rockets Galore," the hilarious British comedy, into the most topical of all films. It is uproariously funny —funnier indeed than "Whiskey Galore," also shot in the Hebrides and with similar characters several years ago.

But it is also deadly serious. From the beginning the film makers' sympathies are clearly with the anti-bomb resistance movement. And so are the audience's sympathies, too. They certainly were in the cinema where my family saw it. The auditorium lapped it up—and laughter can be a potent force.

The revolt is led by a priest, who tells the scientists and brasshats: "You think you will make peace by making more powerful weapons than your enemies. And suppose they then make bigger weapons than yours?"

The novel of the film was written by Sir Compton McKenzie, whose strong views on H-bombs have been expressed in speeches for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. His anti-militarist spirit comes out, for example, in his caricature of the ex-Army Captain bursting with excitement at being back in uniform again.

The scenery (photographed in colour) is so wild and beautiful that I fancy many of us will be thinking of spending our holidays on the Isle of Barra this summer.

Jeannie Carson and Donald Sinden head a talented team of character actors.

I hope the Rt. Hon. Duncan Sandys, Minister of Defence, will see "Rockets Galore."

Pick of the pamphlets

"HUMAN history is the record of constant struggle between the dynamic and static—the urge to acquire and the urge to retain. Force, actual or implicit, is the primitive recourse of dynamic elements. It is their inevitable recourse unless there is provided some social order which adequately permits of peaceful change. But if peace be equated with the indefinite perpetuation of an existing status, then peace will never be achieved."

Few people I guess would think that Mr. John Foster Dulles was responsible for this passage. In his pamphlet **"Meditations upon the early wisdom of John Foster Dulles,"** James J. Martin shows that in the 1930s Mr. Dulles had an intelligent liberal attitude to foreign affairs. We can prescribe no better reading for the Mr. Dulles of the fifties than this pamphlet.

In Colour in Britain (published by the Institute of Race Relations and the Oxford University Press) James Wickenden examines the causes of colour prejudices in this country and the nature of the Nottingham and Notting Hill race riots.

Other pamphlets received: **A Philosophy of Indian Economic Development,** by Richard B. Gregg (Navajivan publishing house); **Women,** by Gandhi (Navajivan publishing house); **John Milton,** by V. Duncan Jones (International Institute for Peace).

A. L.

SWAFFHAM HIT THE HEADLINES

Michael Scott's TV appearance brings letters 2-1 in favour

Peace News Reporter

THE Press gave very wide and full coverage, well illustrated with photographs, of the events at Swaffham on December 6 and 7, and on December 20.

Both demonstrations were shown on TV news and broadcast on sound bulletins. Both Press and Radio reported the court hearing on Dec. 29 when 46 people appeared on a charge of obstructing the police.

The Sunday newspapers carried long accounts of the Dec. 6 demonstration when members of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War entered the North Pickenham missile base. In some cases reports appeared under lurid headlines, most of the story concentrating on sensational highlights, often to the exclusion of the real nature and purpose of the demonstration. Some newspapers were notably different; the Observer, for example which carried an impartial factual report.

Startled reactions

The Direct Action Committee kept up its demonstration on Sunday, Dec. 7 and on the Monday, newspapers carried stories and comments which varied in tone from the derogatory jibes of the Sketch to the startled criticism of the Manchester Guardian and News Chronicle. The Observer passed the considered view that non-violence was legitimate but that demonstrators should not have entered the base over barbed wire. The Herald praised highly the demonstrators' courage.

The newspapers did not have everything their own way, however. The Mirror, which had taken the stand of "the outraged citizen" published two letters a few days later (and the Mirror seldom publishes any serious letters) both in favour of the demonstration. The Observer published the following week a letter from the Pacifist Youth Action Group which criticised their objection to entering the base.

Of other letters in the Press, some condemned, others applauded.

Several cartoons with Swaffham either as the theme or the inspiration have appeared.

The biggest compliment for Pat Arrowsmith, Field Organiser of the Direct Action Committee, came from Michael Foot, who nominated her as one of the "Women of the Year" in a Daily Herald feature.

The Press treatment of the Dec. 20 demonstration was different from that of Dec. 6 and 7. In the period between the two demonstrations, George Ward, Secretary of State for Air, had withdrawn his accusation of violence against the demonstrators and confirmed the non-violent nature of the action.

Over the barbed wire and into the base. Demonstrators making their entrance on Dec. 6.

While the Dec. 20 demonstration was even more widely reported—the Press of the world being present — comment was virtually absent.

Perhaps the dignity of the action made its impression, perhaps Fleet Street realised that men and women who risked a charge of conspiracy by going to Swaffham would not trespass on Air Ministry property without having counted the cost. Perhaps they were moved; perhaps they were not. But if not, at least now none rose in horror to slate the "ban the H-bomb fanatics." In place of reaction were sober reports of the demonstration and the remands before a special magistrates' court.

Both The Times and the Manchester Guardian realised the Gandhian nature of the demonstration. The Times' headline read "Rocket Marchers Plead the 'Gandhi Tradition'"; The Manchester's Guardian's read "Defiance in the Gandhi Tradition."

Religious comment

Religious comment on the demonstrations varied between support from the Very Rev. George MacLeod, criticism from the Christian World, and sympathetic appreciation in the British Weekly.

"It may be a discredit to the Christian Church that in problems like that of nuclear warfare, it finds itself so often merely rubber-stamping the politicians' point of view. The Church may not find itself able to give its support to operation Swaffham, but Swaffham is nevertheless a jab at the conscience of the Church in its apparent acceptance of the inevitability of nuclear weapons," said the British Weekly.

Sybil Morrison and Pat Arrowsmith were invited to discuss the issue on a Midlands I.T.V. programme and, following the court hearing, the Rev. Michael Scott appeared in an I.T.V. programme. Correspondence which came into I.T.V. following Michael Scott's appearance is reported to show two-to-one in favour of his action.

Swaffham also came up for discussion in the B.B.C.'s "Any Questions?" programme, and further letters were read in the companion programme, "Any Answers?" on January 1, some in favour of the action and some against.

The New Statesman of January 2 provided a thoughtful examination of many aspects of the action.

The Observer gave attention to an analysis of those taking part on the Dec. 20 demonstration. Peace News last week published a fuller analysis. Other interesting features of this have since come to light.

The demonstrators

Out of 69 of approximately 100 who took part:

- 42 gave no religion, 14 were Quakers, 5 were Church of England. Others present included three Jews, one Hindu, one Anglo-Catholic, one Methodist and one Roman Catholic.
- The organisation most represented was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament although 30 present did not indicate attachment to any organisations.
- The most significant thing shown by the analysis of the trades and professions was their diversity. Present were a bricklayer and a lecturer in education, students and teachers, an engineer and an artist.

YEAR IN—YEAR OUT

And so far as the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund is concerned 1958 goes out on a note of very real delight and gratitude. There has been a grand response to my appeal to old friends, and the Christmas postman brought cheques of £50, £25, two of £10, five of £5, and others of smaller but no less welcome amounts. As a result the total as I write stands at just under £1,200, and we have yet to receive the £100 promised by the anonymous friend if we reached £1,150 by Christmas.

To all who have made this result possible I send a very special message of thanks. It was important that we should reach our aim for the year, so that Headquarters Fund could play its full part in providing the money necessary for PPU activities during the year.

A diocesan treasurer of my acquaintance used to say that where budgets were concerned there was but a narrow line between faith and fraud. We certainly undertake to pay the staff, printers, owners of halls and others in the faith that members will provide the money, and time and time again we are justified. Indeed, I believe that the right activities will produce the money required, and on that we shall be counting as 1959 comes in.

As we send our best wishes for a happy New Year to all readers of Peace News, may I suggest that in gratitude for the fact that we have passed our aim for 1958 and in anticipation of all that remains to be done, those who had intended to send something to Headquarters Fund but have not done so should do it now, so that we may have something in hand for the work which goes on YEAR IN—YEAR OUT.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Niemoeller clashes with Moderator

A SHARP debate on Dr. Martin Niemoller's view of the duty of a Christian to oppose atomic re-armament took place in Germany at the Synod of the regional Evangelical Church of Hesse-Nassau, according to a report in the British Weekly of Dec. 25.

Dr. Niemoller, who is President of the Synod, insists that, according to his understanding of the New Testament, "a decision other than absolute refusal of atomic re-armament is contrary to obedience to the Christian faith and practically denotes atheism."

This view was disputed by the Moderator and Deputy-Moderator.

Nuclear energy for life or death

From Kathleen Rawlins

A CHALLENGING picture of the constructive and destructive uses of nuclear energy is presented by the exhibition entitled "The Chance of Your Life," which was staged at the Co-operative Hall, Bushey, recently.

Hand-made with beautiful precision by Dr. W. K. A. Congreve and other members of the Watford and District Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in consultation with D. G. Arnott, its vivid pictures of man-made rivers in the desert and of vast waste lands awaiting man's labours stand side by side with glimpses of the agony suffered already by atomic victims and held in readiness for millions more.

The exhibition may be hired for a small fee on application to the Rev. Raymond Norman, 23 St. John's Road, Watford. It is worth noting that two-thirds of the content deals with the positive uses to which nuclear energy could be put.

NON-VIOLENCE IN AFRICA

It must not become political trick

—MacLEOD

THE Very Rev. Dr. George MacLeod, speaking to the joint meeting of Oxford University Presbyterian and United Nations Societies recently on developments in Africa, commented on the political use of non-violence in Central and South Africa, at the present time and in the future.

There was a great danger that non-violent resistance was being perverted into "the latest political trick" with which to confound and oppose the white governments, and was not fully motivated by love. Such a non-ethical basis for passive resistance would have disastrous long-term consequences for those who used it, even though the political weapon of non-violence might be used successfully.

Church campaign

On the Central African Federation, Dr. MacLeod said that the Africans were looking to the Churches in Britain to take up their cause, as they have become largely disillusioned with their attempts at advancement via the political parties, both in the Federation and the United Kingdom.

Dr. MacLeod was of the opinion that it was the urgent responsibility of the Churches to make this a political issue in this country before Britain relinquished control over the area. A petition of at least 100,000 names to the Crown, resolutions in the various denominational assemblies, and a campaign on a national scale were all required. "Now is the psychological moment to start a campaign," Dr. MacLeod declared.

Each territory must choose

—NKRUMAH

New Delhi, December 30.

DR. NKRUMAH, the Prime Minister of Ghana, said in New Delhi on December 29 that he saw no incompatibility between his country being a member of the Commonwealth along with Britain and South Africa and Ghana's advocacy of the liberation of all the African colonies.

The Commonwealth was an association of free countries having their own internal and external policies. They met together and discussed problems.

"If Britain still holds colonies in Africa, I think we have proclaimed that it should not be so," he added.

Accra conference

He recalled that the recent conference of the representatives of African territories held at Accra had decided, *inter alia*, to work actively for a final assault on colonialism and imperialism in Africa and for the ultimate achievement of a union or commonwealth of the African States.

Asked to amplify his statement on the assault on colonialism, Dr. Nkrumah said that the Accra Conference had voted in favour of non-violent non-co-operation for achieving political freedom. At the same time, however, each territory would have to determine its own course of action depending on local circumstances.

Peace mission to Russia

STARTING July 9 from Berlin a Peace Mission under the direction of Jerome Davis, D.D., will visit Poland, Czechoslovakia, spend a month in Russia and return to France. Conferences will be held with governmental and church leaders. On a previous trip the mission met Khrushchov in the Kremlin. The number that can be taken is limited. Write to: Dr. Jerome Davis, 489 Ocean Ave., West Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

Editorial and Publishing office:

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Tel: STAmford Hill 2262

Distribution office for U.S.A.:

20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Registered as a newspaper. Second class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa.

Politics and the Bomb

MR. GAITSKELL has said that the chief issues on which the coming general election will be fought are unemployment, pensions, education, housing and foreign policy. The Times remarks that the issue could have been put more succinctly by saying that the year will be dominated by the bomb and the £.

However much the £ may figure in the election and however much the bomb may dominate the year, the bomb will not dominate the election if Mr. Gaitskell can help it. In this he will have the co-operation not only of Mr. Macmillan's party, but also of the Labour "left." This is emphasised by Michael Foot's leading article in Tribune this week.

Making the rather hysterical claim that the result of the forthcoming election can settle the fate of the world, Mr. Foot devotes his article to exhorting his readers to work for victory at the polls for the Party of Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan so that faith in political action may be restored.

★ ★ ★

THIS article has a special significance. Mr. Foot is writing as editor of a journal that has announced itself as the organ of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Despite this, not once in his article is the H-bomb mentioned. The reason for this is obvious. We have already been shown how delusive were the hopes that Mr. Bevan might lead a movement against the H-bomb. We are now given an early intimation that any hopes on this score we might have had in the journal with which Mr. Bevan is connected are equally without any solid basis.

The Tribune group may think that the H-bomb is the most important issue facing mankind to-day. It may call for great protest meetings throughout the country, for Parliamentary lobbying and Aldermaston marches. It may even justify a policy of civil disobedience. When it comes to the question of putting the party of Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan into office, the H-bomb can be dropped out of sight as a matter of little consequence.

★ ★ ★

IN the Labour Party's pre-election policy statement emphasis is put on the fact that on two occasions the Labour Party Conference has rejected proposals for the renunciation of the H-bomb by Britain.

What actually happened was that the votes cast by the Trades Union delegates (who in the main had been given no democratic mandate from their members on the subject) overwhelmed the votes cast by the representative of the constituency parties, which were generally based on the decisions of the bodies they represented.

The fact that on major issues of policy the Labour and Conservative leaderships think alike is not, of course, something that is contrived between them; although their common attitude may represent their genuine convictions it is unquestionable that the bi-partisan policy so produced creates a situation which has the same effect as a conspiracy to deprive the electorate of power in all the political issues of greatest importance.

Since the war every important issue of foreign policy and military power has been settled without reference to the electors.

Mr. Attlee's Government decided on the manufacture of the A-bomb, not only without any consultation of the electors, but also without any consultation of Parliament.

The establishment of US military bases in this country has gone forward without any kind of democratic consultation. The network of military pacts that have been entered into is also agreed policy by both partiecs, and there has been no popular consultation here either.

Nor have the people been consulted about rocket bases. It will be observed that the political manœuvre by the Labour leadership urging the suspension of the establishing of the bases no longer has any relevance. It has now been permitted to drop out of the picture and will not figure as an election issue.

★ ★ ★

H-BOMB warfare is not just another issue to be set aside and equated with such issues as pensions, housing and education. It is overwhelmingly the most important issue of the day. All pacifists, as well as those who have campaigned for the renunciation of the H-bomb, have, we suggest, a moral obligation to do what they can to ensure that the issues that they have declared to be of supreme importance shall figure in the forthcoming election.

Jomo Kenyatta . . .

THERE will now be no judicial enquiry into allegations that false evidence was given at the trial of Jomo Kenyatta, the Kenya African leader. A Kenya Government spokesman said last week-end that there was "absolutely no question" of any re-trial. The allegations had been made in a sworn affidavit in November by Rawson Macharia, a Kikuyu who was a key witness for the Crown in the trial in 1952-1953 at which Mr. Kenyatta was sentenced to seven years' hard labour for organising Mau Mau terrorism.

In his affidavit Mr. Macharia said that the Mau Mau initiation ceremony at which Jomo Kenyatta was alleged to be present did not take place, nor was Mr. Kenyatta ever present at such a ceremony, to his knowledge.

Mr. Macharia has also published a letter marked "secret" and allegedly written from the Attorney-General's chambers at Nairobi in November, 1952. The letter confirms an alleged offer to Mr. Macharia of University training and a Government post in Kenya.

We do not know which of the conflicting statements made by Mr. Macharia at the trial and in the affidavit are true. It is certain, however, that many people were very doubtful in 1953 whether justice was done at the trial, and many who knew Mr. Kenyatta personally stated publicly that they could not imagine him having anything to do with Mau Mau activities.

The rejection by the Kenya Government of any demand for a judicial enquiry into the situation will merely convince African opinion that the Government is more concerned for supremacy than for justice.

Mr. Macharia's latest statements have greatly strengthened grave suspicions that Mr. Kenyatta was victimised for being the symbol of African aspirations, for after six years in prison he is still enthusiastically hailed as their leader by Kenya Africans. This is such a serious suspicion that there is no case for rejecting a full impartial enquiry; and because Mr. Macharia was so important a witness in the trial it is worth recalling some of the details.

. . . a fair trial?

THE substance of Mr. Macharia's evidence in December, 1952, was that he had attended a Mau Mau ceremony in 1950 at which Jomo Kenyatta initiated a certain person into the Mau Mau society. The prosecution witness admitted that he had never mentioned this to anyone during the following two and a half years.

He went on to name nine other persons who he alleged were present, and each of them denied this. The prosecution made no attempt before the trial to question any of these nine people about Mr. Macharia's allegations. And it is important to remember that in Kenya it is not necessary for the prosecution to give the defence any details of the charges; Mr. Kenyatta therefore had no opportunity to prepare his defence.

Several of the nine were able to present substantial alibis: two of them, for example, ministers of religion, claimed that they were at an important religious conference. The magistrate rejected the evidence of all nine men and of Mr. Kenyatta, and accepted that of Mr. Macharia—who now swears that his evidence was false.

Mr. Macharia also swore persistently that he had personally seen and heard Mr. Kenyatta giving evidence in Kenya before the Carter Commission, but the prosecution later admitted that Jomo Kenyatta had been out of the country at the time.

French militarism

GENERAL DE GAULLE last week approved the reorganisation of the French military system. The changes are a recognition that today preparations for nuclear and "subversive" war have made obsolete the traditional distinction between wartime and peacetime. All that can be envisaged is a state of constant preparation for total war.

The new arrangements introduce universal military training, either with the forces or in civil defence, and provision for a "state of alert" which in an "emergency" might precede general mobilisation.

The present period of 18 months' military training will in future be officially two years, although in practice most conscripts already are serving for 27 months. The Government reserves the right to call up or keep conscripts for military operations—as it is now doing in order to continue its imperial policy in Algeria.

The present de Gaulle Government has recognised that the pursuit of the Algerian war is impossible without further resources and greater material sacrifices on the part of the French people. The franc has been devalued by roughly 17 per cent, taxes increased and subsidies decreased in the campaign for "severity and truth."

These impositions have been unjustly distributed, and there may well be in the coming year considerable working-class agitation against a general wage freeze. This could open the door to an even clearer polarisation of forces between the Communists and the supporters of Algerian "integration" than was seen in last year's referenda.

With the apparently complete eclipse of independent socialists, the initiative over Algerian policy which will shortly pass to M. Soustelle's Union of the New Republic, will face no principled challenge. In the new Assembly which opens in April the right-wing UNR will stand for an entrenched imperialism in the face of Algerian aspirations, and in this it will receive the support of a further 130-odd deputies of an ultra-right Fascist mentality.

Coal and happiness

THE National Coal Board is soon to close five Welsh pits. The reason usually given for this decision is that the pits are uneconomic. Yet as Mr. Emrys Roberts showed in a letter to the Manchester Guardian recently, the South Wales area of the NCB makes a profit on its operations, while the Forest of Dean and Somerset area make a considerable loss. The NCB is, however, to close five pits in South Wales and only one in the Forest of Dean.

There are other mysterious features of the decision. A great deal of money on development schemes has only recently been spent on some of the pits that are now to be closed. Before some of these schemes were started the miners had warned the Coal Board that they were not suitable for the particular conditions of the area. The NCB was not deterred and the schemes went ahead. And at one of the pits now being closed new pit baths have just been installed.

It seems that the NCB owe the miners and the people in the affected areas a more comprehensive account of the reasons for the closures.

Even if, however, it was perfectly clear that the pits were uneconomic and that this was not the responsibility of the Coal Board, the decision should be challenged. For many of the men who worked in the pits the closures will mean long periods of unemployment with little hope of finding work in their own district. The effect on those communities which depend on the pits for their existence will be disastrous.

We are usually told that all this is in the cause of progress. The miners may suffer now but our future will be a better one. The principle behind this argument is that *certain* suffering for *some* people *now* is preferable to *uncertain* improvement for *everybody* in the *future*. This principle is not very attractive, especially when it is brought into the open, yet it is the basis of all our thinking about economics.

We shall probably be dismissed as hopelessly unrealistic if we suggest that the money spent on rocket bases would make us all happier if it were used to keep uneconomic pits open until alternative employment was developed in the area. But then, we want people to be happy *now*.

The British Weekly

THE British Weekly is a Christian journal which is considerably more enlightened on social and political problems than some other periodicals of the Christian Church. Its comments are often constructive, liberal and encouraging, and it is clearly a valuable influence in the Church that it champions.

Last week its comments on the non-violent obstruction of work on the missile base near Swaffham were again encouraging. It accepted that "someone must compel everybody to face up to the nuclear issue—and do it before other nations join the nuclear club." "It is right," it continued, "that someone should protest at events the country and the world are apt to take for granted as unalterable." Swaffham, it concluded, was "a jab at the conscience of the Church in its apparent acceptance of the inevitability of nuclear weapons."

It must be made clear, however, that these views are only praiseworthy in that they are a valuable advance on much of Christian opinion. They are not in themselves a clear indication of Christian conviction. They form no unmistakable leadership. They are no part of the prophetic tradition of the Church.

The British Weekly, like the Church it serves, has lost its vision of the Church as a teacher. This applies also, of course, to other publications; and the Church is not the only institution that has no leadership to offer in this matter. But it is especially regrettable in this case, because the Church is potentially the greatest moral force in the Western world. If it has no leadership to give on the greatest moral problem of our time, people are unlikely to view its lesser pronouncements with much respect.

"Someone must compel everybody to face up to the nuclear issue"—why should it not be the British Weekly? This is no time for fence-sitting, however tolerant it may be. The need today is for fearless prophetic leadership. The Church should be calling for the renunciation of the weapons of destruction which deny its very basis. So far, such inspiration has come only from a handful of dedicated individuals.

IN PERSPECTIVE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Pioneers of N. Pickenham

THE letters you publish of opponents of Direct Action base their opposition on the unfavourable impression produced by the demonstrators upon some of the public.

But the courageous, dedicated men and women who marched on to the rocket site at N. Pickenham on December 6, and lay in the mud in front of lorries entering the site on December 20 are not demonstrators. They are pioneers—pioneers in moral resistance—putting into practice what we Nuclear Disarmament campaigners preach.

Do we not argue that when something is being secretly done which we judge to be criminal and insane, endangering all life on earth, then we are in duty bound to interfere? And if one form of interference has proved ineffective, should we not try another?

If all of us who participated in the march to Aldermaston had the courage and single-mindedness to do what these men and women are doing it would surely halt the erection of the deadly weapons.

Let those of us who lack their intrepidity at least withhold our criticism.—**NAOMI BIRNBERG, 8, The Orchard, London, S.E.3.**

Valid action

I WROTE my article disapproving of civil disobedience after the first venture at Swaffham. Michael Randle's article undermined my position, but I still felt (and feel) that a good deal of what I said needed saying.

My husband returned from America just at the time of the second attempt and I was therefore unable to be present. However, we both attended the magistrate's court.

It now seems to me that I was wrong, and in future I shall feel no moral hesitations in taking part in such law breaking. I see now more clearly that a rocket base is as evil as a gas chamber for the extermination of the Jews, and to say in effect, "If you are willing to help build this which can kill three million people at a single firing, run over or imprison me first to prove the integrity of that willingness," is valid action and I admire it.

Where such action will lead and whether it continues lies in the purity of the intentions of those taking part in it, in men's hardness of hearts, and also in God's hands. I thank God for calling those friends of ours to give this witness where and when they did.—**DAMARIS PARKER-RHODES, 20, Sedley-Taylor Road, Cambridge.**

Heroes of Christmas

GOOD heavens! Can it be true that so many pacifists and Nuclear Disarmament campaigners are criticising the actions of the N. Pickenham demonstrators? What sort of people are we it we cannot bring ourselves to praise their courageous and completely selfless active protest, and what is all this talk about their "aggression" and "violent non-violence"?

As for "free democracy"—does your East Anglian contributor (PN, January 2) imagine that we shall get far enough, soon enough, with our Trades Unions, "free" Press and Parliament? Goodness knows we need to persevere in these fields, but shame upon we who cannot expend a little of our time—and respectability—in rallying to the support of the heroes of Christmas, 1958.—**MICHAEL WORRALL, 7, Percy Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne 2.**

Tyranny of legality

THIS country's genius—its evil genius—consists in allowing free thought but making sure that such thought does not influence action. With unbelievable subtlety things are so arranged that revolutionary action seems impossible. Mr. Legality dominates our actions and produces a tyranny that is invisible and absolutely legal.

What our friends of the Direct Action group have done is to prise a way through from the realm of the mind to the realm of action so that our thoughts can begin to influence events.

Unfortunately a great number of their pacifist critics are also dominated by the national passion for legality and are more concerned with minute abstract adjustments in their own minds than with justice and peace, but life is more generous than that and more broadly based.

As a pacifist I say forthrightly: What real harm does a little obstruction do, or a little force for that matter? Is anybody killed or anybody seriously wounded? Five minutes' work in an armaments factory or five minutes' work in an abbatoir does more moral and spiritual harm and gives more physical hurt than 5,000 Swaffhams, and the good these latter do is electrifying.

More strength to their arm.—**ANTHONY BATES, 2 Maze Road, Richmond, Surrey.**

Message to Geneva

WE in the Twickenham Nuclear Disarmament Group, inspired by the heroic action on December 6 against the rocket bases, are duplicating hundreds of postcards addressed to the British representative at Geneva, already stamped, which we intend to sell for 6d. The message reads: "I urge you, in this season of peace and goodwill, to continue to reach agreement so that nuclear weapon tests may cease for all time."

May I appeal to your readers to do something on the same lines NOW so that Mr. Ormesby-Gore will be flooded with demands to keep going until agreement is finally reached on this vital question.—**M. JOSEPH, 100 Ashley Drive, Whitton, Middx.**

Another to reckon with

PLEASE express to all concerned in the demonstration at the rocket site the admiration of many here. It will be good to know that most sensible people look upon their work in the light of Jesus Christ's teachings. Personally I do not doubt that if He was on earth today there would have been One more to reckon with.

A constant reader of your paper.—**W. L. JONES, Elidir, 1 Penyrorsedd Terrace, Nantlle, Caerns.**

Eccentricity

I HOPE that William E. Lee will not stop supporting Peace News and pacifism because he is ashamed to be associated with cranks, eccentrics and fanatics. Before he meets his unsympathetic colleagues again or reads Sybil Morrison he should fortify himself with John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty."

Eccentricity is nothing to be ashamed of. There is far too much *centricity* these days, as a lot of very respectable people will agree, if you put the matter in sufficiently general terms. And if you are to stand the strain of being eccentric on issues of fundamental importance you need the stiffening of a little fanaticism.—**GEOFFREY CARNALL, 43 Wellesley Ave., Belfast.**

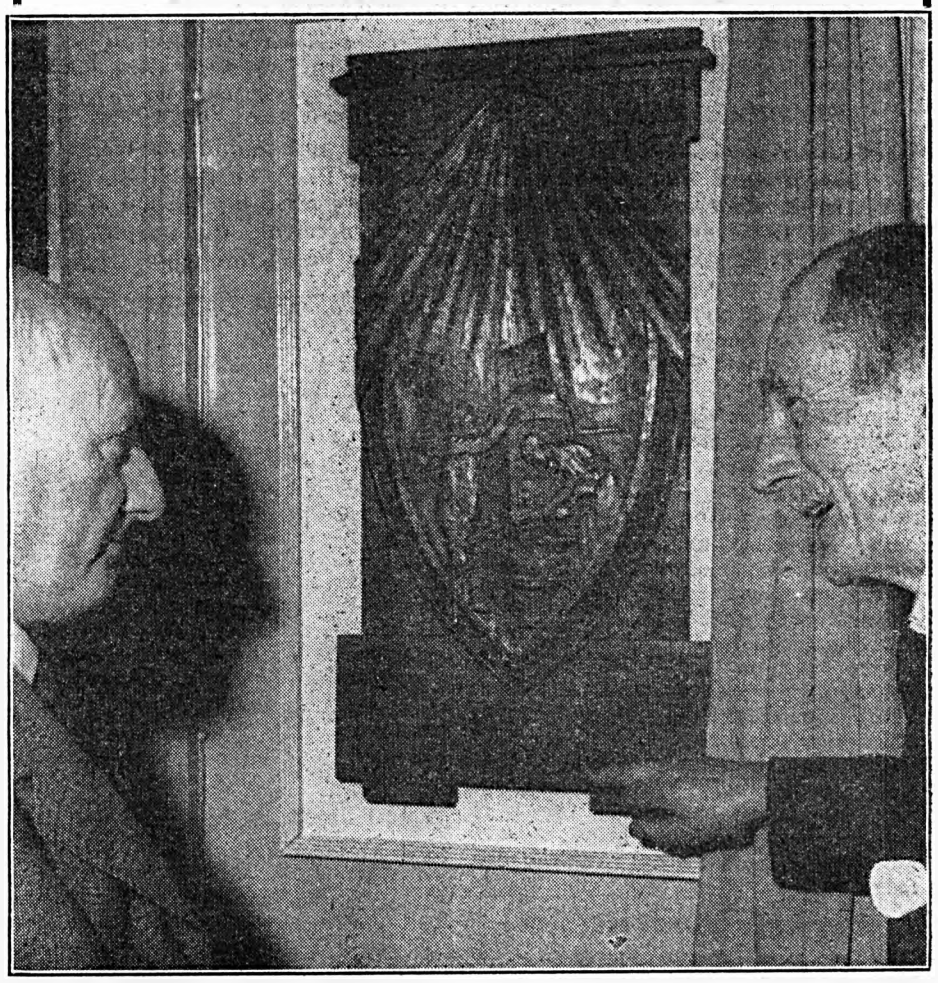
Calling all Liberals

THE pacifist element of the Labour Party are organised within the Labour Peace Fellowship. There is no such organisation in the Liberal movement despite the fact that there is a growing number of Liberals anxious to work for peace and more radical policies.

I would like to take the initiative in forming such an association and call upon all Liberals interested to get in contact with me. If they will send me stamped and addressed envelopes I will forward them details of the inaugurating meeting and first active functions I can organise.

The objects of the association I have in mind is to bring together all Liberals who support such progressive views as those advocated by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Movement for Colonial Freedom, etc. It must be our aim to influence all other Liberals by means of discussion groups, debates, lectures, week-end schools, etc., as well as produce our own periodical and other literature.—**ALFRED NORRIS, 136 Richmond Road, Gillingham, Kent.**

The seventy who died



FRED MURFIN, a British conscientious objector who was sentenced to be shot during World War I and was reprieved at the last moment, unveiled a carved tablet in London last Saturday which commemorates 70 of his comrades who died as a result of the treatment they received during the First World War.

Gathered with 70-year-old Fred Murfin at Dick Sheppard House, Peace Pledge Union headquarters, were more than 30 "old lags" who had been in prison during that war. Among them were: Fenner Brockway, M.P., Harold Bing, Chairman of the War Resisters' International, and J. Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of Peace News.

TABLET'S HISTORY

Harold Bing, introduced to the gathering by Sybil Morrison, told something of the story of the tablet, which was first erected in Berlin in 1923, having been carved by Dorothy Stevens, of Liverpool, at the suggestion of Martha Steinitz, then secretary of the German section of the WRI.

The tablet, which portrays an imprisoned CO looking out of his cell window while another CO beats a sword into a ploughshare, carries the names of the 70 who died below the words: "It is by the faith of the idealist that the ideal comes true."

The plaque was first erected in Berlin at the headquarters of the War Resisters International there. When Hitler came to power in 1933, Dr. Kalisch, then secretary, had to leave the headquarters and flee to Denmark. Before he left he destroyed all records which might have led to the arrest of German pacifists but took the plaque with him to South Denmark, where a new home was found for it in the Peace House.

EARLY RESISTERS

When the Germans occupied Denmark during World War II, Dr. Kalisch was imprisoned but eventually escaped and made his way to Sweden. A Danish friend managed to hide the plaque in a cellar. After the war, Dr. Kalisch returned and recovered it. On his death, in 1957, his widow suggested that it come to Britain and have a permanent home at the headquarters of the British section of the WRI.

Unveiling the plaque, Fred Murfin, who is the caretaker of a North London Quaker Meeting House, said that resistance to militarism was a stand which ordinary people could take. Frank Merrick, the concert pianist, said that it was a wonderful privilege to have been among these early resisters. Resistance to militarism was vital. "I have never had a millionth of a seconds' doubt about it in all the years since."

Other speakers recalled the death of one of the COs commemorated on the plaque—killed by having his lungs filled with porridge in Northallerton Jail, and of another comrade who had died after being sent from the prison hospital into a contaminated cell vacated by an influenza victim.

Messages of greeting were sent to the gathering from Earl Russell, Dame Sybil Thorndike, and Michael Tippett, as well as from many former prisoners unable to be present.

Fred Murfin is seen above pointing out names to Alfred Evans.

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The future lies in direct action

By AUSTIN UNDERWOOD

This is the fifth article in the series debating non-violent obstruction as used at North Pickenham on December 6 and 20. The writer, Cllr. Underwood, B.E.M., leader of the Amesbury Rural District Council Labour Group, is Chairman of the Southern Regional Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

DIREST Action Against Nuclear War. In the past month the words must have entered every home in Britain in the Press, on the Radio and on TV. In the days when telly and the pools form part of the blanket of apathy which is the Government's greatest ally in deceiving the people of this country, Direct Action has caused the truth to break through.

Without it, Aldermaston and North Pickenham would still mean as little to the people as the names Belsen and Dachau did to the German people before the last war.

But has the true significance of this non-violent resistance movement permeated to the people of Britain? How much has even permeated to the politically active and to those active in religious bodies?

"They shouldn't have gone in," "They ought to use constitutional methods," "What did they expect?" . . . how the conscience-salving clichés have tumbled out from those whose consciences had been pricked after the first North Pickenham demonstration. Used by the same persons who ten years ago were still saying "Why didn't they do something about it?" "They must have supported him," "They must have known it was happening, but they didn't do anything." "They" of course were the German people, "him" was Hitler, and "it" was the concentration camps.

Rockets and Belsen

As one who saw the people of Celle being conducted around Belsen concentration camp a few days after we had entered it, many refusing to look on the piles of naked bodies, I ask those who at the moment hold back from Direct Action, just *what* did they expect the German people to have done?

Are they now prepared to take the same action over North Pickenham, Feltwell, Tuddenham, Shepherds Grove, Mepal . . . that they expected the Germans to have taken over Belsen, Dachau, Buchenwald. . .?

Just *what* do they expect to be done to prevent this country from being used as a base to cause genocide as surely as the concentration camps were used in Germany? As Michael Scott said at Swaffham, "This particular base (North Pickenham) in this little village of Norfolk is capable of destroying three million people's lives."

Particularly concerned should be the "We too-ers." The "active" people in constituency political parties and religious bodies, the "active" pacifists who meet with clockwork regularity to preach to the converted.

Political schizophrenia

"We too," they say, "We too are against the H-bomb. We too are against the rocket bases. But," they add, "we don't think that this is the way to get things done!" I ask them bluntly, what then *is* the way to get things done? Why, even the prosecuting counsel at Swaffham said, "The abolition of any possibility of nuclear war is a cause which must recommend itself to any right-minded person, but the prosecution says this is not the way to go about it!"

Conservatives who wish to see an end to nuclear weapons (and one meets a very few) must be schizophrenic to support during elections candidates who believe wholeheartedly in the great deterrent.

Labour supporters must be almost as schizophrenic when they support a "Party Line-er" after Mr. Gaitskell spurned the constituency parties by asking for, and securing the complete rejection of "all resolutions on disarmament" at Annual Conference. If they think not, then let them read the sections on Defence and Peace in the new magnificent glossy treatise.

"Labour fully accepts the duty to maintain the military defences of Britain," it says. In other words, "We fully accept the present Tory policy which we shall carry on."

Compare this with the brave words of the National Executive Committee in March, 1958, "No physical steps should be taken to set up missile bases in Britain before a fresh attempt has been made to negotiate with Russia."

Brave words with no meaning.

The "physical steps" were going on when the words were written. Did the NEC support the Mepal demonstration, organised by their own constituency parties? The missile bases are going up now as fast as they can be installed, without a squeak from the Labour Party's NEC.

In fact, the only contributions by the two foremost Labour spokesmen in Parliament following the first North Pickenham demonstration were to ask for the erection of stronger fences around the missile bases that their Party was opposing earlier in the year!

Where then was the voice of Bevan?

All over the country members of constituency Labour Parties are kidding themselves that Bevan has played a clever game and that after an election in which Labour was returned the H-bomb and rocket bases would be no more. With Bevan in the pocket of the Gaitskell-Strachey NATOists? Perhaps a re-reading of the new glossy treatise will give them pangs of doubt and the present acquiescence of the Party in the face of the rapid construction of the rocket bases will confirm that doubt. I hope so.

The silent Liberals

The Liberal Party? From their splendid declaration at their Annual Conference it would seem that here was the political party for everyone who believes in unilateral nuclear disarmament to support—in face of the woolliness of their other ideas. But they too have been strangely silent since this conference. They too appear to be acquiescing in the preparation for Thorsday.

Face the situation as it is. Admit:

1 The manufacture and stockpiling of H-bombs is going on with tremendous acceleration, *now*.

2 The rocket bases are being constructed at hell-bent speed, *now*.

3 Neither of the two possible Governments which would emerge from the forthcoming election offers any distinct promise of change to this situation.

Let there be no doubt about it. During the next election the only way one can be certain of doing everything possible to help put into reverse the present slide downhill to nuclear suicide is to work and vote only for a candidate who is against the bomb and against the bases. If there is no such candidate, or one who is nearly there, then in the forthcoming election supporters should go to a neighbouring constituency and work there for such a candidate.

Meanwhile, there is an immediate way—the only immediate way—to resist the bases and the bomb, and that is to resist them by direct action, by putting one's energies into the growing non-violent resistance movement. The thousands of Christmas greetings that poured into Norwich and Holloway jails must be transformed into thousands of individual activists supporting direct action.

'Fill the jails'

The numbers of people willing to undertake direct action, civil disobedience, non-violent resistance, call it what you will, are growing.

The numbers of those who are prepared to follow the true Gandhian exhortation "Fill the jails!" are growing. But they must grow more rapidly—quickly.

Everyone who applauds the action of the courageous 45 at North Pickenham should consider seriously *now* what greater part they can play to assist them, to increase their members, to increase their finances. Money, time, energy, and, above all, greater numbers are needed. Resolutions mean much more if they are backed up by a donation to the Direct Action Committee. Even more if they are backed up too by direct action by the individual.

Trade Unionists have a heavy responsibility. The alternative for those who acquiesce and who work on these genocide preparations is excessive overtime rates today, the scrapheap tomorrow, and a radio-active pyre for themselves and their families the day after.

They can do no better than follow the lead of Brother George Wellard, who brought a message from Greenwich Trades Council to the Federation Site Steward at the North Pickenham rocket base.

"As trade unionists ourselves," it declared. "we appreciate that workers would be far happier building houses, hospitals, schools, etc., which our people so badly need, rather than see our crafts and skills so tragically misused in making armaments, be they conventional or nuclear armaments. Many of you no doubt are active trades unionists and your unions have also recorded opposition to building rocket sites, the manufacture, use and testing of nuclear weapons and would wish to see, as we do, an end on an international scale of these terrible weapons of mass destruction of human life and property.

A great movement is seething against those who plan genocide for millions, and consequent suicide for our own country. I believe that the leadership of the movement in this country is in the hands of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. All who feel that this is the supreme issue of the century should throw the weight of their experience and support into the assistance of the Committee in terms of finance, time, energy and, above all, action—*now*.

Told to leave RAF ground on which they were trespassing, supporters of the Direct Action Committee promptly squat before a line of police who stand guard in front of the rocket base, at North Pickenham on Dec. 20. Photo: Austin Underwood.

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DIARY

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, January 9

HUDDERSFIELD: 7.30 p.m. New North Rd., Baptist Schoolroom. Prof. J. Rotblatt, John Braine. Chair.: Cllr. E. L. Thackray. CND.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

Sunday, January 11

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse, Hy. Haffenden, "Graalism as World Revolution and Reform."

Monday, January 12

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath & Cotteridge PPU.

Wednesday, January 14

BELFAST: 8 p.m. Friends Institute, Frederick St. Rev. D. H. A. Watson "Christian Action"—in support of a multi-racial policy in South Africa. FoR.

Thursday, January 15

LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Hunter St. Group AGM. Nominations & Resolution for PPU AGM. Short colour film. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Bush Rd. Ted Redhead, MP, FoR & PPU.

LONDON, E.C.3: 1.15 p.m. Church of St. Olave, Hart St. Christian Responsibility & International Affairs in the light of the Lambeth Report. The Rev. John Vaughan, "The New Measurements." In co-operation with the National Peace Council.

LONDON, N.13.: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd., Palmers Green. Arlo Tatum "My recent visit to Nigeria." PPU.

Friday, January 16

"Europe Against the Bombs." See page 5. CND.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. Bowes Park Methodist Ch., Bowes Rd. "Sufficient is Thine Arm Alone—Facing the Consequences." Led by Mr. Alan Stubbs. MPF.

LONDON, S.W.18.: 7.30 p.m. 13 Elsenham St., Southfields. The Vedantic Outlook by Swami Avyaktanada. The Vedanta Movement.

LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m. 7 Carlisle St., above Partisan Coffee House. "Background to Swaffham." Discussion on non-violence. Speaker, Alan Lovell. Labour Peace Fellowship.

Monday, January 19

LONDON, W.C.1.: 6 Endsleigh St. 6 p.m. Refreshments. 6.30 p.m. Discussion on Important PPU Affairs. Central London PPU.

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. PPU.

Tuesday, January 20

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m 36 Coleridge Rd., Old Trafford. PPU Group Mtg.

Thursday, January 22

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Bush Rd. Douglas Clark, "Censorship and the Theatre." PPU.

LONDON, E.C.3: 1.15 p.m. Church of St. Olave, Hart St. Christian Responsibility & International Affairs in the light of the Lambeth Report. The Rev. John Vaughan, "The Christian Solution." In co-operation with the National Peace Council.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open air mtg. The Brotherhood of the Way.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

BRADFORD: 8.15 p.m. Broadway Car Park. Open air meeting. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

'Race problem in modern society'

THERE was a record attendance at the annual joint conference of the Devon and Cornwall areas of the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which took place at St. Ives on November 15 and 16.

The Conference leader was Joan Wicken, who is a London WEA and university extension lecturer, a former assistant Commonwealth Officer of the Labour Party, and is now secretary of the newly-formed African Education trust.

She gave a most able exposition of "The Race Problem in Modern Society," tracing its origins in the racial divisions and racial myths of mankind, its social and economic causes, the situation in the United Kingdom and Commonwealth, and the significance of the new Asian and African nationalism.

The one clear fact that emerged from all the studies, tests and correlations of different racial types, she said, was that all human beings are educable and adaptable.

Although the colour problem hardly exists in Devon and Cornwall, members wanted to do something to tackle the problem. A suggestion by Stanley Keeble was adopted that local hospitality should be organised for overseas students or workers and also for coloured children who would not otherwise be able to have a holiday.

Towards democracy with Cuba's Robin Hood?

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

MOST British people were only aware that anything was stirring in Cuba when Hugh Delargy, Socialist-Irishman and therefore of rebel instinct, made a scene in the House of Commons because Britain had sent fifteen tanks and 2,000 tons of equipment and ammunition to aid dictator President Batista.

The protest was thoroughly justified. President Batista was one of the most cruel tyrants in the world. His administration was not only corrupt. It was viciously brutal. He lost the sympathy of many of his own reactionary supporters when in April he tortured and hanged boys in their teens when a general strike was called.

It is hard to believe that the existence of British financial interests did not influence this armament aid. Shell have a capital of about £11,000,000 in Cuba, with a £5,000,000 refinery and over 600 service stations. A large part of the construction of the Havana shipyard is a British contract. Tate and Lyle import about 250,000 tons of sugar from Cuba.

I am not alleging that any particular firm brought pressure on the British Government to permit this despatch of armaments. I am pointing out the dilemma which arises when capitalist interest are involved. The immediate reaction is to support the Government in power to protect those interests, however tyrannical the government may be. Britain thus finds herself, whether in the Middle East or in the Caribbean, defending dictatorship against growing democracies.

CASTRO'S STORY

The leader of the rebels, Fidel Castro, is a modern Robin Hood. His story is fantastic. He is the last man one would expect to find as leader of a revolution. He is an ascetic, a devout Roman Catholic, an intellectual. He is only 32. He says he has no personal political ambitions, and this may well be so.

He fled to Mexico as an exile from the Batista tyranny. There he was impressed by a great deal of socialism in practice, the land reforms, the taking over of American mineral enterprises. He decided to return to Cuba to organise both a political and economic revolution. First, the ending of the police state and the establishment of political democracy. Second, the establishment of social rights, land reform, the socialisation of public services, such as the American-owned telephone and electric companies.

Fidel Castro declared that as soon as free elections were guaranteed, he would retire to a simple life in the Sierra Maestra, where the "mountains come down to the sea," with intimate and long beauties of which any man might dream. His character is in keeping with this desire, though whether his revolutionary responsibility will permit its realisation is another matter. Whilst still an exile in Mexico he nominated Dr. Manuel Urrutia, a judge who had left Cuba rather than sentence captured rebels, as interim President until a democratic election could be held.

SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE

The success of the rebellion proves its justification. Every material factor was against Fidel Castro, and only spontaneous and widespread support could have brought victory. In November, 1956, he somehow got ashore from a leaking yacht battered by a storm. He and his 85 comrades, plunging through a swamp, were met by machine-gun fire and only 11 survived. Yet in little more than two years the Batista regime has been overthrown. Everywhere Castro found that the common people were ready to support him.

One is not surprised. The island is rich; the masses of the people are wretchedly poor. There are 1,000,000 unemployed in a population of less than 6,000,000. Cuba proves that independence without democracy and social justice is not enough.

Columbus discovered Cuba in 1492; the Spanish conquest of the island began nine years later. The native Red Indian population was so nearly exterminated that the Spanish settlers had to raid West Africa for slaves to man their sugar plantations. The administration was oppressive and insurrections were continuous.

In 1898 a United States warship was blown up at Havana, allegedly by accident. The American-Spanish war, which I can just remember, followed. (I confused it with a British war in South Africa and for many years thought that Zulus lived in Cuba!) The Americans conceded independence to the island in 1901. During the last 25 years governmental power has more often been seized than elected.

ANGLO-SAXON INTERESTS

About half the population of Cuba are descendents of the Spanish settlers, though most of them have become dispossessed and proletarianised. Descendants of African slaves form the second community; there are also many of mixed race, a few foreign-born whites, a few Chinese. One hopes that at last a period of peaceful democratic progress may begin for them. We have still to see what is the reaction to the revolution in America and Britain. We must be on the alert to prevent any pressure or intervention on behalf of Anglo-Saxon financial interests.

What has happened in Cuba must be seen in the background of events throughout the Caribbean area, Central America and South America. During the last few years a healthy democratic wave has spread.

In the British West Indies fuller self-government and federation have emerged, with Labour in the ascendancy. On the mainland there have been in British Guiana and British Honduras constitutional clashes which are not yet resolved, but which reflect a determination for more democracy.

In Central America, Mexico continues to give a democratic example in social change. In South America, Peron of Argentina, Rojas of Colombia, Odria of Peru, and Jimenez of Venezuela, have all been ejected from their dictatorships and replaced by democracies.

These political changes are widely accompanied by social and economic changes. Here is the ground of hope both for Cuba and for the far-spread region to which she belongs.

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CLASSIFIED

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WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.

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LITERATURE

CONTACT—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 12s., 12 months £1 3s. 6d. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.

"SARVODAYA"—monthly magazine of the Bhoodan Movement in India may be obtained from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 at 12s. per year, or 1s. (postage 2d.) each issue.

FOR SALE

PEACE DIARY for 1959 now available, with 32 page World Directory of Peace Organisations and Periodicals, 3s. 6d. (postage 4d.) from Endsleigh Cards (Peace News Ltd.), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (Full Christmas List available).

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

WANTED, INTERESTING RESPONSIBLE job, anything from caretaker to secretary, whole or part-time Prefer with accommodation. BM/MGNV. London, W.C.1

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. *every Wednesday evening* for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers). Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

A VACANCY FOR a young man at Peace News. Despatch and general office duties. To commence Feb. 2. Please write, with details (experience, if any), to the Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION
Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m., SUNDAY, January 11
FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE
32 Tavistock Square, Euston
Discourse ALFRED HY. HAFFENDEN
"Graalism as World Revolution and Reform"

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Pacifists in Ghana

A USEFUL nucleus of pacifists is building up in Ghana. Latest accession to the strength is an energetic Peace News' seller and worker in Liverpool, Barbara Whitehead, who has married David Acquah, and is now a Ghanian citizen.

There is also a growing International Voluntary Service work camp movement in Ghana. It is drawing in a number of workers, skilled in their own particular jobs, who fill a key role in assisting work camp projects in their spare time.

A stormy sermon followed

AFTER a visit by a "student caravan for peace," which has toured New York State for a month, a Baptist minister who had met the team delivered a "stormy sermon" which chastised his small Baptist flock for their apathy about the issue of peace.

Reporting this, the American Friends Service Committee Bulletin says that two teams were sent out this year.

PEACEMAKERS HERITAGE No. 8

Now is the time

We have hearkened thy bugle call
In the shrieking shell,
And we fling back the challenge all
To the gates of Hell—
Not in the far-off years,
Now, while the whole world fears,
While the earth shakes under thy spears,
We defy thee, O Mars!
By the curse of a nation's guilt
For their rulers' gain,
By the pomp of an empire built
On the people's pain,
By the brothers' blood men spill
At their masters' word and will,—
We will not go forth to kill.
We defy thee, O Mars!

—Jessie Wallace Hughan, "The Challenge of Mars.

PN PEACE NEWS

1,176 Jan. 9, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

CAMPAIGN AGAINST NEW ROCKET BASE

And political action in S. W. Norfolk

THE Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War intends to continue its campaign to stop the building of the rocket bases in Britain. The Committee's activities will now be directed towards the rocket base that is reputed to be under construction near the village of Watton.

The Committee's press release says: "An extensive construction project is being carried out by the contractors Higgs and Hill on the edge of the airfield close to the hamlet of Griston. According to the workers on the site and to trade union leaders in the area a rocket base is being built. Precisely what sort of rocket base we do not as yet know; but there is evidence that it is an underground launching site for the Blue Streak or Black Night missiles.

"Work on the base seems to be extensive. According to reports from people in the immediate vicinity, a considerable amount of deep excavation is being done. The workers are not told exactly what they are constructing, and an atmosphere of secrecy seems to surround the whole project."

The committee plans to carry out extensive field work in the area. Attempts will be made to get workers to leave their jobs, local trade union branches to black work on the site, and the local people to oppose building of the site.

It is also hoped to link up this kind of work with activity of a more directly political kind. The press release says, "The tragic death of Sydney Dye, MP, means that there will be a by-election in S.W. Norfolk, the constituency which includes Swaffham and the North Pickenham rocket base. The Committee has decided that every effort should be made to make nuclear disarmament as major a political issue as possible at this by-election. All those who regard nuclear disarmament as a matter of paramount importance will be urged to withhold their vote unless some candidate will take a real stand on atomic weapons.

Such a project is envisaged as the prelude to a country-wide campaign along similar lines in connection with the General Election."

The committee asks for anybody who can help with the field work at Watton to let them know (344, Seven Sisters Rd., N.4. STA. 7062).

QUAKERS AND SWAFFHAM

Meeting for Sufferings (the Executive body of Quakers in Britain) have endorsed the following letter which has been sent to members of the Society of Friends and attenders at Quaker Meetings who took part in the rocket base demonstration near Swaffham. The letter, sent by the Friends' Peace Committee, reads:

THE members of the Friends Peace Committee wish you to know how much they have had in mind at their meeting this first day of the New Year, those Friends and others who have borne active witness against the evil of nuclear weapons at the rocket site in Norfolk. The action which you have taken, based upon deep personal conviction, has both encouraged and challenged us.

Not every member of the Peace Committee would feel it right to take part in direct action of this sort; there are different roads towards our common goal; but we all unite in gratitude for the courage and determination which you have shown, for your steadfast adherence to the principle of non-violence and for your cheerful acceptance of personal suffering and hardship.

"New occasions teach new duties"

The evil which our government is preparing to do in our name may teach new and more vigorous methods of protest and opposition. You have not only helped to focus public attention upon what is being done in Norfolk; you have also brought workers for peace to a fresh sense of urgency, to an awakened revaluation of their individual witness for peace, to a new dedication, and a deeper commitment.

To all Friends, whether now at home or still in prison, who upheld our testimony for peace at Swaffham, we send loving greetings and warmest thanks.

PACIFISTS AT COLONIAL OFFICE

● FROM PAGE ONE

authorities to take matters into their own hands.

It was the Governor who was responsible for internal security in the island and the military were acting in aid of the Civil power. British troops had acted with commendable restraint under the most trying circumstances.

Members of the delegation continued to question the right of the British to remain in Cyprus and asked specifically that the British Government should state it as their intention to withdraw British troops at the earliest possible moment.

Lord Perth stressed the importance of Cyprus in the general situation and the importance to members of NATO that it should not fall into unfriendly hands.

Replying to questions about the political issues involved, Lord Perth assured the delegation that the Government, as it had repeatedly stated, were not taking up a rigid attitude in regard to their seven-year plan and were still prepared to consider such amendments to it as might be agreed with both Greek and Turkish Governments at a conference.

They had been ready to discuss matters under the chairmanship of a NATO representative and were still ready for a conference at which the Greek Cypriots could be represented by anyone whom they appointed.

In regard to partition, although they did not like the idea of partition as a solution any more than that of Enosis, since they had accepted the position that at the end of the seven-year period all solutions should be open, they could not exclude partition from among the possibilities.

Lord Perth thought it was more profitable to consider the present situation than the past.

One main road

The UN debate had been followed by a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, Greece and Turkey, and they had agreed that further discussion should take place through the normal diplomatic channels. In that lay hope, but in the very nature of such discussions he was unable to add anything further about present procedure or future prospects, except to stress that the Government would continue to make great efforts to reach a peaceful solution.

In the meantime, the seven-year plan was going ahead quietly and unprovocatively; the endeavour to establish a basis for representative democratic government involved such administrative plans as preparing electoral registers, etc.

In thanking Lord Perth for having received the deputation, Mr. Leslie Hale suggested that the policy of the British Government could be shortly summed up by saying that although they were prepared to explore other avenues, in their judgment there was one main road which should be followed.

In place of H-bombs

CHURCHES 3 SUGGESTIONS

"THE recent demonstrations at the rocket base at Swaffham highlighted a growing uneasiness over the risks—physical and moral—which we are running in the nuclear arms race."

So opened a letter from S. Spencer and 16 other signatories of an Action Group of Holy Trinity Church in Southall, Middx., to the Manchester Guardian on Wednesday.

Calling for "the Western nations, and this country in particular," to take a moral lead, the letter suggests:

1. "Abandoning nuclear weapons of mass destruction, and then calling on the Russians to do the same.
2. "Channelling the money saved to the underdeveloped countries and to the refugees.
3. "Letting the nations see that our policies spring from an ideology better than Communism—namely, Christianity."

The Action Group includes Labour, Liberal and Conservative supporters.

FENNER BROCKWAY ON MALTA

IN PN NEXT WEEK

Fenner Brockway, MP, will be writing on the political crisis in Malta in Peace News next week.

By Sybil Morrison

RING ROUND THE SUN

To miss the moon by only 4,600 miles is a remarkable piece of marksmanship . . . Yet the pleasure and interest are not unalloyed . . . We can so far check neither the use that is being made of the rocket, nor the information that is coming from it. That the venture obviously has a military meaning and a political purpose makes it even more sinister . . .

—Daily Telegraph, January 5, 1959.

THE venture by man into space, foretold by H. G. Wells in stories which were looked upon at the time as the sheerest fantasy, presents a difficulty to the unscientific mind.

The immensity of the universe is staggering enough to defy ordinary contemplation, and now there is added to it, a knowledge of speed which human imagination cannot manage to compass. A thousand miles in an hour is almost outside of immediate comprehension, but fifty thousand cannot, imaginatively, be made real.

The solar system has a new planet, and whatever may have been the First Cause of all the others, man is solely responsible for this one. Faced with this almost unbelievable fact, and with the indefinable magnitude of the unknown inhabitants of space, it seems extraordinary that anyone should care to think any longer in terms of "military meaning and political purpose."

The Russian scientists and engineers have, it would appear, matched those of the Western world, and indeed overtaken them. Had this been a race in the understandable competitive spirit which resides in us all, there would be no necessity for fear even though there might be some loss of prestige.

There is nothing in itself sinister in the astonishing discoveries of modern science which make it possible for such strange launchings as these tiny satellites speeding in their orbits around the moon and sun; it is the use that could be made of the new power of propulsion into space that fills men's minds with terror.

It is forgotten, apparently, that in 1945 Russia had no advantage of nuclear power since that power was held solely by the U.S.A. The atom bomb had been used against Japan and there was absolute refusal to either share the secret or abandon the bomb.

For some considerable time Russia possessed "conventional" arms alone, and the fear of the diabolical and monstrous properties of this horrible weapon, which if used could wipe out not only its armies and air-force, but its cities and populations, drove the Kremlin into the nuclear arms race, and is the main cause of the present tension, and so-called "cold war."

This is not to say that Russia has done nothing wrong, nor that the West has done nothing right, but it is to say that the arms race was, without any question, started by the Western powers.

At the time they seemed singularly blind to the obvious consequences of their attitude in regard to the atom bomb, though anyone of the slightest intelligence could see quite plainly, that any country threatened with total extinction was unlikely to remain quietly acquiescent in such a situation.

"Peace through strength" was a soothing slogan while it lasted, but the perfectly natural challenge which changed the slogan eventually to "peace through stalemate" was completely inevitable and should have been foreseen.

Now that the stalemate has been broken and Russia has achieved a penetration of space which could lead to undetected attack from a new planet with perhaps unknown weapons, man is faced at last with his own ineffable, unspeakable folly.

The awful mystery of the universe is perhaps, the greatest challenge to the brain of man; it should have been an inspiration to international unity, not a lever for sinister disunity.

To continue with the vast and unpredictable expenditure of thousands of millions in order to put forth yet another planet to ring round the sun with no purpose but to wrest the victory from Russia is the last insanity.

Clearly this is the moment for the healing gesture which the whole world awaits; moral power is far greater than scientific power, and if Britain lacks the latter it does not lack the former. Now, as never before, is the time to use it.

Published by Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, and Printed in Great Britain by Fish & Cook Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, N.4.